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FELLOWSHIP

May 1943 Vol. IX—No. 5

It is never too late to apply reasonableness and reconciling love to any human problem. In the present war situation, we can best express this faith by urging an immediate peace based on mutual concessions in the cause of international justice. To this end we declare to our government and to our fellow citizens that an immediate peace-by-consultation can be made morally better and more permanent than any peace which might be won by continuing the war. We urge that peace aims be redefined, giving special emphasis to the contributions which the *United States* is prepared to make to the cause of international justice, and that these be offered to the world as the basis for an immediate peace conference.

—Message from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends to All Members of the U. S. Congress.

"One of These Little Ones..."

by

VERA BRITTAIN

•

The Economics of the Post-War Order by Scott Nearing

The Waters Are Mixing by Ferner Nuhn

Labor, Inflation, and the War by A. J. Muste

•

Round-up of C.O. News

15 cents a copy $1.50 a Year

John Haynes Holmes

It was a beautiful Memorial Day. When had the sky ever been so bright, or the sun so warm? This was one of those "perfect days," of which James Russell Lowell wrote in his *The Vision of Sir Launfal:*

"Whether we look, or whether we listen,
We hear life murmer, or see it glisten;
Every clod feels a stir of might,
An instinct within it that reaches and towers,
And groping blindly above it for light,
Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers."

I had come early to the battlefield, and seen all its interesting features. Here was the long line where the enemy had entrenched themselves. In front stretched the wide, level ground over which they had charged so heroically on that dreadful afternoon. Over there was the little ridge on which our troops had stood, and from which they had refused to be driven. Amazing that so terrific a struggle, and the whole fate of the war hanging upon it, had been determined by the accident of a slight rise of ground on an otherwise level expanse of field!

More interesting to me than the topography of this battle-scene were the monuments which had been reared in perpetual remembrance of its "glories." In the center, surrounded by the little park, loomed the great national shaft bearing the inscription of dedication. The equestrian statue of the victorious general in command was artistically a superb thing. Many regiments of course had their special memorials, and there were humble heroes who had not been forgotten. It was an impressive display of "pomp and circumstance," a rather pathetic attempt of men to express gratitude to those who had here given "their last full measure of devotion" to the nation's cause.

Wearied by much sauntering about the field, I sat down at last in mid-afternoon on a broad bench beside the national monument. The park, with its grass and flowers, was pretty and restful. The sun rested on me like a hand of blessing. I lingered there, and meditated. Quiet seemed to settle down upon my soul.

Suddenly, as though coming from nowhere, for I had not seen him, a man sat down on the other side of the bench. His face was beautiful, yet marked by lines of sternness. His large coat was wrapped about him like a robe. He seemed to be neither old nor young. What was this quality which seemed to surround him with an aura of eternal things?

"It's very lovely here, isn't it?" he said. There had been no warning of his speech. He had not seemed to be at all aware of my presence.

"Yes," I replied, haltingly, "Yes, very lovely."

"You have been examining the monuments and statues?"

"Yes," I replied. "Such things always interest me. I like their suggestion of history, and their testimony to the feeling of men's hearts. Some of the inscriptions are very touching."

"They are indeed," said my visitor. He paused for a moment, and I thought that perhaps our interchange of casual comment had ended. But after a little while, he continued:

"I like especially the inscription on the expiation monument."

"Expiation monument," I repeated. "Where is that? I have not seen it."

"Ah, then you have missed the most impressive feature of this old battlefield. It's off there, on the highest point of the ridge. Come with me!"

The man arose without another word, and strode away as though he knew that I must follow him. I seemed caught as in a spell, and without a moment's hesitation went along. The stranger moved quickly and quietly. There was not a sound as we climbed the gentle slope toward the high point of the field to which he had referred. As I glanced ahead, I could see no monument. I wondered what my guide had had in mind. Then suddenly, like a ship emerging from a fog at sea, it was there before me.

The monument was not tall, nor very large. Its severe lines suggested the majesty of pillars in a temple. It loomed up beyond all the proportion of its appearance. And on the front face was a simple bronze tablet, bearing an inscription.

As he came to the monument, my guide stopped. I stood beside him, a bit breathless now from rapid ascent of the ridge.

"This," he said, "is the expiation monument. It has not yet been reared, except in the hearts of many men. But, like the Kingdom, it is real, and can on occasion be made visible, as now."

The man moved nearer to the monument. He seemed to grow in stature, and his face had an unearthly light. His voice was deep and strong, like music coming nearer from far away. He laid his hand upon the bronze tablet, and tracing the lines of the inscription with his finger, he read the words aloud:

ON THIS FIELD
ON THE —— DAY OF
FEBRUARY, 18——
WAS FOUGHT THE BATTLE
OF A. B. C.
WHICH WAS A DISGRACE TO
BOTH THE NATIONS
ENGAGED.
EXPIATION IS HEREWITH
OFFERED TO THE BRAVE MEN
WHO LAID DOWN THEIR
LIVES ON THIS FIELD
UNNECESSARILY AND IN VAIN.

I glanced up—and was alone. The man was gone. I began suddenly to shiver, for a chill wind was blowing. As I looked around, I saw that it was dark. And I seemed no longer to be standing, but sitting again on the bench in the little park. Who was that man? Where was that expiation monument? Had I been asleep, and dreaming? I hardly knew. Yet was the inscription engraven on my heart.

FELLOWSHIP
Published by the
FELLOWSHIP OF
RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Reentered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
15 Cents a Copy $1.50 a Year

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

May 1943 **Vol. IX—No. 5**

"This is one of the most terrible things that has ever happened in the history of the world." That is this writer's opinion of the starvation of the helpless going on today in war-racked Europe.

"One of These Little Ones . . ."

By VERA BRITTAIN*

A SHORT time ago, I was asked by the editor of a children's magazine to act as judge in a competition for "Britain's Bonniest Babies." Into the office of that magazine poured photographs of the loveliest children you could possibly imagine. Even when the office staff had selected fifty for me to examine out of the hundreds submitted, I felt utterly bewildered by the difficulty of choice. And these babies with straight backs, rounded limbs, dimpled cheeks, perfect teeth, and laughing eyes, were the products of war-time Britain. Every one of them had been born since the war began. Fresh air, a wise routine, and above all a good diet regulated by the loving care of their mothers, had made them the charming little creatures that they were.

On the continent of Europe today there are millions of mothers as loving, as skillful, and as conscientious as the mothers of Britain. But with all the love in the world they cannot rear children who would win prizes in baby competitions. In thousands of homes scattered throughout Europe they cannot rear them at all, for today at least half a dozen nations are slowly dying of hunger. Ever since the summer of 1940, famine and diseases that follow in its wake have gradually tightened their grip upon Europe.

Under famine conditions the first to suffer are the youngest and weakest of the population. Babies die first, then young children and adolescents, then invalids and nursing and expectant mothers. Behind the curtain of war-time silence, thousands and perhaps millions of children and their mothers—all *individuals* who love and hope and suffer just as you and I do—are dropping exhausted by starvation into nameless graves.

This enormous famine, spread over so wide an area of civilized mankind, is one of the most terrible things that has ever happened in the history of the world. Owing to the tremendous increase of population during the past 150 years, its scale is infinitely greater than the comparable tragedies of the Thirty Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, and even the Great War of 1914.

Say these words over again to yourself, slowly and emphatically, and try to take in their meaning. THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST TERRIBLE THINGS THAT HAS EVER HAPPENED IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. And it is happening in *our* day and generation. We cannot escape from the fact that it is happening by trying to put it out of our minds. Nor can we, the citizens of a vast Commonwealth and a still prosperous, well-fed country, absolve ourselves from the moral responsibility to do something about it.

This catastrophe is terrible not only in terms of the thousands of innocent children who have died and will die. It is equally dreadful on account of the memories, the bitter grievances and resentments against us, which will go on from generation to generation. By Belgium, by France, by others of the worst-starved countries of Europe, we who think of ourselves as kindly and well-intentioned will be regarded, if we continue to stand aside, as cruel, selfish, and merciless. An American relief worker recently in France told me that again and again he had heard French people say: "We will help the British because we want them to win the war and get rid of Hitler. But we shall hate them forever for letting our children starve when they could have saved them."

This hatred will permanently poison the future relations between Britain and France, or Britain and Belgium, unless we make some effort to help. It will hamper post-war reconstruction beyond calculation, and postpone to an indefinite date the restoration of international friendship. Even a gesture of good will, however small and ineffective, would

*This article is a condensation of a pamphlet of the same title by the author of *Testament of Youth, Humiliation with Honor,* etc.

They Need Your Letters

Howard E. Kerschner, former director of Quaker relief works in France, writes:

Vera Brittain has written an excellent factual account of the conditions of children in the occupied countries of Europe. However, sending vitamins and milk alone will no longer be sufficient. Most of the children now have been reduced by starvation to the point where vitamins without food would be of little or no benefit. Neither would vitamins with a little milk save them. They must have cereals, meat, and fats if their lives are to be spared.

The cereals can be obtained in the United States without loss to anyone, as we still have a very great surplus of grain. The meat, fats, and milk called for are available in South America. Neutral ships that cannot be hired for the war effort are available to transport this food to the children of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. Other countries cannot be reached at the present time.

Money is not a problem, for these countries have funds in this country which could be unblocked for this purpose. The International Red Cross is ready to assume the responsibility of distribution as it is already doing so satisfactorily in Greece. Nothing is needed to save millions of children but the permission of Washington and London.

Every reader can help by making his influence felt throughout his entire circle of acquaintances, by writing to his local paper, talking to his minister, parent-teacher associations, social, business, and service clubs. Every person who believes these children should be saved should also write to the President, to the Secretary of State, to his Congressmen and to both of his Senators, emphatically expressing his convictions.

be better than nothing. Not food alone matters, but the spiritual grace with which it is offered. If the French, the Belgians, the Greeks, and all the rest believe that we are indifferent to their sufferings, if they feel that we do not care how many of their children starve to death so long as our own are strong and beautiful enough to win baby competitions, what else can we expect them to do but hate and distrust us so long as history is written and read?

Greece

Conditions in Greece have been exceptionally bad because, according to the Greek government publication, *Greece Under Enemy Occupation,* Greece was dependent upon *imports* for all essential foodstuffs. Her annual consumption of wheat was at least 1,200,000 tons, of which a third came from abroad in good years, and much more in bad. Meat, sugar, and rice were also imported on a large scale. All these imports came from overseas. According to Dr. Cawadias, chairman of the Greek Red Cross in London, overland communications were so difficult that "even in times of peace Greece never received food by this route."

Greece was at war with Italy from October 28, 1940. Therefore the autumn (1940) sowing was never completed, and the spring (1941) sowing was not even begun. During the war with Italy, Greece never had more than two weeks' food supply, and subsisted largely on shipments convoyed under British protection. The military land operations devastated the whole country. Roads, railways, bridges, viaducts, factories, and stores were methodically demolished by the retreating armies. Land communications broke down completely. At sea, Greek shipping suffered enormous losses. Every ship which survived, including all fishing craft, left Greek waters, so that no means of communication remained between the Greek mainland and the islands.

When the German army occupied Greece at the end of April, 1941, they seized foodstuffs and livestock, thereby aggravating an already disastrous situation. Thus it was that, during 1941, starvation came to Greece more quickly and in a more drastic form than to any other country. By the summer of that year, conditions in Athens and the Piræus, where the population had been swollen to over a million by refugees from the north, were already appalling. The same was true of some of the islands. Bread and meat virtually disappeared, and in some places people were reduced to eating dogs and cats. Children especially had begun to suffer horribly.

By December, 1941, nearly two hundred Greek men, women, and children were reported to be dying of starvation each day. There was no fish, no wheat, and no bread. At the beginning of 1942, the figure for deaths in Athens and the Piræus was given as two thousand a day. The *Evening Standard* (January 28, 1942) reported that those who survived were so cold from the combined effects of hunger and the bitter winter that they even opened the graves and robbed the dead of their garments.

The first concession allowed to Greece was for the shipment of 50,000 tons of food, at the rate of 2,000 tons a fortnight, from Turkey. This was announced in the press on September 11, 1941. The relief was financed by subscription from Greeks in America, collected by the Vanderbilt Committee for Aid to Greece. The German and Italian governments gave a safe-conduct on condition that the ships sailed only in the daytime, and in addition Germany allowed some exports from Greece for exchange against Turkish foodstuffs. This food from Turkey fed 500,000 people daily, and is estimated to have saved five to ten per cent of the population of Athens and the Piræus from death.

At the beginning of March, 1942, the Catholic press announced that further measures of food relief were being arranged by the Vatican, and later that month plans began for regular relief from Sweden. The possibility of shipments amounting to 15,000 tons a month, in addition to the relief from Turkey, was mentioned in Parliament on April 21, 1942. On December 17, 1942, Prince Carl, the Chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, stated that Swedish ships had so far carried to Greece 76,000 tons of Canadian wheat and 3,000 tons of other commodities, such as dried vegetables, milk powder, and medicines. A safe-conduct was given for these shipments by the belligerents. The joint Swedish-Swiss Commission in Athens, with a Swedish chairman, now has a staff of 550, of whom 140 check and inspect the shops and soup kitchens in Athens which distribute the food. At various times, 600,000 Athenians have been fed in the soup kitchens.

In spite of these various small relief measures, Dr. Cawadias stated, at the end of last September, that of the 300,000 children living in Athens and the Piræus when Greece was attacked, no less than 110,000 had already died of starvation, malnutrition, or epidemics. Those who still lived survived only as living skeletons, "literally creatures of skin and bone." Children were losing weight at an average rate of two pounds a month owing to the rapidly

decreasing supply of milk. Milk-yielding livestock, lacking fodder, were being slaughtered for meat. A neutral observer described the conditions in some of the children's hospitals as "Dante's Inferno." In one hospital the mortality rate was 88 per cent. In another, the wards were so overcrowded that each bed contained four famished children.

Belgium

Belgium, like Greece, is a small country, and a large-scale importer of food in peace time. About fifty per cent of the energy value of its food supplies comes from outside. Yet in Belgium's case there has been no attempt at relief in this war, much less any endeavor to imitate the magnificent work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium under Herbert Hoover, by which, between 1914 and 1918, the Belgian nation was saved.

Up to the present, Greece alone, out of all occupied Europe, has been excepted from rigid and unrelenting blockade by the United Nations. The only food reaching Belgium from outside has come from Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Since May, 1914, this has amounted to about 20,000 tons of fish, flour, and oil, and fifty tons of dried milk. This has been distributed mainly to the poor. The country had no stocks when invaded by Germany, and since much of its soil was affected by actual warfare, the harvests have been poor.

For Belgium, as for Greece, the Swedes have done their utmost, and a Swedish Committee for the Relief of Belgian Children was formed in the autumn of 1941. An appeal, signed by the Archbishop of Sweden, by Prince Charles, brother of the late Queen Astrid of Belgium, and other prominent persons, brought contributions from the Swedish people of more than 500,000 kronor ($120,000). This money has been spent in Belgium by the Committee, who state that the whole of the food purchased and sent to Belgium has gone directly to the relief of the children under the supervision of the Swedish Consul General in Belgium.

Even this assistance, which has been quite inadequate in scope, is on the verge of interruption, as the Committee has come to the end of its funds, and the prospect of raising more money in Sweden is not encouraging. Last autumn the Committee announced that the mortality among Belgian children is now appalling, conditions being infinitely worse than they were a year ago. Belgium, they say, will soon reach a level of starvation as bad as that of Greece, if not worse.

On December 7, 1942, the Bishop of Chichester wrote to *The Times* (London) to point out that, while young English children are receiving special rations of cod-liver oil and orange juice, young Belgian children are sick, listless, and dying through hunger. He inquired:

> "Cannot the British Government permit the Belgian Government to use its own financial resources to send special rations of powdered milk and vitamins from America now to save the children of Belgium? These would be medical supplies in effect. A scheme has been prepared whereby shipping can be provided, and the International Red Cross would undertake the distribution of the very small amount required—only 2,000 tons a month—for saving children under sixteen, nursing and expectant mothers, and invalids. It is little enough for which navicerts only are asked. Its arrival would offer no temptation for German plunder. When we are sending large quantities of food to our own prisoners [in Germany] without any interference by the Germans; when we are making it so easy for our own children to get their special rations if only their parents will take the trouble, can it be right to refuse?"

The Immediate Task

Now receiving general support, says Howard Kerschner, is this limited feeding project for most needy children, women and unemployed of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France.

Approximate number to be fed:

Norway	1,000,000
Holland	2,000,000
Belgium	2,000,000
France	5,000,000

Amount each person would receive daily:

Cereals	100 grams
Fats	20 "
Meat	30 "
Milk (powdered or condensed)	20 "

Tonnage required each month:

Cereals	30,000
Fats	6,000
Meat	9,000
Milk	6,000
Total	51,000

France

On January 14, 1943, *The Times,* in an article on "Control in North Africa," reported the fear of General Giraud that "unless military action is taken in time, starvation may come to the French before liberation."

We have first-hand knowledge of conditions in France from Dr. Howard E. Kerschner, recently Director of Relief for the American Friends Service Committee, who describes the French of southern France as "a nation slowly dying of hunger."

The famine there began when five million refugees from the Low Countries, Luxemburg, and the North of France ate the food reserves during the summer of 1940. From this severe blow it has been impossible for the districts affected to recover, because over a million and a quarter Frenchmen are still prisoners of war, and farm animals have been killed in the fighting, eaten for food, or destroyed for lack of feed. Tools and fertilizers cannot be obtained, transportation has been reduced to twenty per cent of normal, and there is so little seed available that in plowed fields in many parts of France nothing is grown.

During the past two winters the American Friends Service Committee has supplied extra food to 100,000 of the most needy children in the schools of unoccupied France. Its American members, and their staff of 140 well-trained non-American workers, have found the past year in France a year of deepened suffering. There has been less food, shabbier clothing, almost no heat, less transport, increasing ill-health, and hardships of all kinds. The infant death rate is now nearly twice what it was before the war. Tuberculosis is increasing, marriages are fewer, the number of births is greatly reduced, and the mortality among old and subnormal people has reached extraordinary proportions.

"Those who survive," Dr. Kerschner warns us in a letter published in the *Sunday Times* (London) on January 17, 1943, "will be dwarfed in body and warped in mind and personality." And in another letter he asks how reconstruction will be possible with these dwarfed bodies and twisted minds:

"Close study and long observation on the Continent convinces me that, in the interest of shortening the war and making reconstruction less difficult, we ought to save what is left of the children of the occupied countries."

The food and clothing which the Americans used for the French children did not come through the Allies' blockade, but was purchased in 1940 and early 1941 from Central Europe, Turkey, Switzerland, Africa, and Asia. Since these stocks are exhausted, and no more can now be purchased, even the 100,000 *children who have been fed must be abandoned to starvation unless the governments in London and Washington allow navicerts for the food to be brought from America.* Dr. Kerschner makes a plea for these navicerts and assures us that—contrary to the belief of many British people—the Germans never interfered with the American relief work.

"We have never lost a mouthful of food. Neither have the small amounts which we have brought into France enabled the Germans to take any more of French food stocks. Up until last summer, at any rate, they were not taking from unoccupied France as much food as the terms of their armistice provided for—because they could not find it in sufficient quantity anywhere to make it profitable to take [i.e. it is economically unprofitable to scour a country picking up an egg here and a carrot there.] The fact that we had a little food somewhere in a colony of children or were feeding a few children in some of the city schools did not make any greater accumulation of French food anywhere that they could seize. It only meant that these children were eating instead of starving."

Other Countries

Holland is stated by the Famine Relief Committee to be facing starvation this winter, because the country's capacity to produce food has been so much reduced. The occupying power robbed the country of forty per cent of its pre-war cattle, which were slaughtered or taken alive to Germany. Only a small percentage of pigs and poultry was saved. In 1941 the death rate of children under four increased by 31 per cent from the 1939 figure. During the summer of 1942, an examination of school children at Rotterdam showed that only 36 per cent were getting enough vitamins to prevent rickets. The coming months will mean real starvation for the Dutch people, and the children of Holland will be irreparably weakened unless vitamins and concentrated food can be sent in without delay.

Norway, Denmark, and *Finland* are in a similar position to Holland. On March 12, 1942, the *Evening Standard* reported that Mr. John P. Thelen, an American Red Cross representative, had stated while passing through London on his way back to the U. S. A. to report, that in Eastern Karelia seventy per cent of the children under seven were dying of starvation. The food shortage was acute throughout Finland. Even black bread and potatoes were scarce, and meat virtually unobtainable. Mr. Thelen had paid five dollars for a rabbit. He explained that after the invasion of Russia all food and medical supplies for Finland were stopped. As America is not at war with Finland, he supervised the distribution of the existing stocks, and then remained as an observer.

Poland, Occupied Russia, Jugoslavia. At a recent gathering in London, Dr. Raymond Gautier stated that in these three countries the situation is probably worse than anywhere else, but very little is known. (We have only recently learned that over a million people died in Leningrad during the siege.) In Jugoslavia the southern border districts certainly are suffering acutely.

Of Poland, a report issued in 1941 by the Ministry of Information stated that, instead of the daily 2,400 calories necessary to maintain a healthy existence, the food rations allowed to the Poles do not amount to more than 680 calories daily, and those to the Jews only 400. It was stated that in Lwow the Germans received four and a half pounds of bread per week, the Poles two and a half, and the Jews little more than one pound. As a result of this policy the Poles and the Jews are dying of starvation, and in some parts of the country have been reduced to boiling down the bark of trees and the skins of dead animals.

* * * * * *

Neither time nor remorse can restore thousands of dead children to life, nor within any measurable period give back vitality to the nation which has lost them. Nor will aeons of time remove the blot on our own nation for the self-interest or indifference which permits this holocaust of youth.

One of the loveliest passages in the Bible is that from Isaiah, chapter 43, verse 2: "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."

That divine promise must have comforted millions of sick and grief-stricken souls through all the ages of history. Cannot we strive to get somewhere near the solicitude of that God in whose image we are made; to let these suffering children and their parents feel that in their dark hour we are with them in spirit? Even more important than the actual food we send them is their knowledge that we *care,* that we see their predicament as they see it, thinking not of children in categories or millions, but of an individual child dear to his parents; of "one of these little ones" beloved by God.

The Senate Considers Feeding

Senators Gillette and Taft have introduced an important resolution (S.R. 100) into the U. S. Senate. It would have the Senate urge that immediate steps be taken to extend the Greek feeding experiment, and that the Secretary of State endeavor as quickly as possible to work out with the governments of Britain, Sweden, and Switzerland, "the setting up of systematic and definite relief for all stricken and hungry countries where the need is now most acute," such arrangements to be rigidly safeguarded to prevent military advantage to accrue to civil populations or armed forces of the invading nations.

After the Armistice—IV

The Economics of a Post-War Order

THE KIND OF ECONOMICS WE MIGHT USE IN THE DAYS TO COME — IF WE ARE WISE

By SCOTT NEARING
Author, Economist, Lecturer

SUPPOSE, for the sake of discussion, that war ends in Europe and in Asia by 1944. What might be done to make the peace economy more equitable, more humane, and of greater service to mankind?

I

Answers to the question must begin with some estimate as to the probable extent of production. The flood of invention and discovery that have resulted in the power age evidently will continue after the war. Lammot duPont, Chairman of Directors for the duPont enterprises, said in a recent radio broadcast:

"After the war, we will have at our command in America ten, fifty, a hundred times what we had before of many things, chiefly new materials. American factories will be producing almost seven times more aluminum than in 1939, and one hundred times more magnesium, which is of lighter weight than aluminum. We will be making almost as much rubber by chemical processes as was grown annually in all the world before the war.

"The American aviation industry will be able to produce in a single year almost double the number of planes that were made throughout its history up to 1940. And some of these planes will be quadruple the size of the largest pre-war planes. The nation will be dotted with huge new airfields; tens of thousands of young men will have learned to fly.

"Great chemical plants will stand ready to turn out new plastics, new paints, new textile fibers, new fertilizers, and a hundred and one other new materials in quantities undreamed only a few years ago. Wood that won't burn, glass that won't break, window screens that contain no wire, and machine bearings that contain no metal are just a few of the things in the offing.

"Better and yet cheaper homes, finer and less costly automobiles, radios, and refrigerators; more nourishing food, superior medicines—a greater abundance of almost everything that adds to the comforts and satisfactions of living—all of these will be awaiting the homecoming soldier when the war is won. Spurred to extraordinary efforts by the extraordinary needs of the past two years, we have gone ahead thirty or fifty years as measured by the old rate of development in many fields."

Mr. duPont is as well qualified to speak on this subject as any other American industrialist. He has spent a lifetime in the chemical industries which are playing so important a role in the transformation of present-day economy.

Plenty of testimony may be cited from other fields. Shipbuilding is a very old industry, yet its capacity has been doubled in the United States within the past year. In the first nine months of 1943, U. S. shipyards will turn out more tonnage than that of the entire pre-war U. S. merchant marine.

The Department of Commerce reports that the total value of manufactured products was $57,000,000,000 in 1939 and $121,000,000,000 in 1942. From 1941 to 1942 alone the physical volume of manufactures increased 18 per cent. There is every reason to suppose that similar increases can be continued.

Productivity has been greatly augmented in a very short time. The limits on further increases are not yet in sight. Post-war society will have at its disposal a greater quantity and variety of goods and services than most pre-war economists deemed possible.

II

This vast productivity may be handled in one of several ways. It may be allowed to lie partially idle as it did in the first post-war depression of 1920-21 and in the second, from 1929 to 1937. Under this procedure the extent of production is limited to the active demand of the market. So long as there are customers the plants operate. If sales decline, production is proportionately restricted. If no profit is in sight, the enterprise closes down entirely. Thus, production is limited by profit.

Instead of operating on the demand-supply formula, production may be stimulated artificially under a managed economy. New Deal restrictions on production dealt primarily with agriculture. The planned economies concerned with manufacturing turned without exception to the production of war materials. Japan, by setting up a war economy and invading Manchuria in 1931, escaped the Great Depression almost entirely. Italy and Germany followed suit in planning for war. Germany, where unemployment was more acute than in any other industrial center of Europe, reached practically full employment within three years after establishing a war economy. Britain and France fell in line. United States business pulled itself out of the

Still to Come

Forthcoming articles in the series "After the Armistice" will maintain the high standard set by the first four writers. Some of the coming articles will be:

"The Post-War Political Order"
By William B. Hesseltine
Professor of History, University of Wisconsin

"Will Labor Lead in the Post-War World?"
By Walter G. Muelder
Professor of Christian Ethics, University of Southern California

"The World Potential in American Culture"
By Ferner Nuhn
Author of "The Wind Blew from the East"

"Relationships Between the Races"
By Howard Thurman
Dean of the Chapel, Howard University

1929-37 depression with the preparedness program that got under way in 1939.

More than a century ago, one faction among British economists insisted that the surest way to keep the building trades of London fully employed was to burn a third of the city every year. This formula was applied to the entire imperialist world in the years following 1931.

Those who are not satisfied to leave the productive apparatus lying idle, or to use it for turning out the means of its own destruction, have a third way of handling increased productivity. They may employ it in the reconstruction of the social order. Following out this third possibility, men would use their increased control over the productive processes to build a new, spick and span dwelling for the human race. Humanitarians and engineers certainly can agree that this is the most satisfying, as well as the most constructive, method of using augmented productive power.

III

This proposal to use increased productivity for social reconstruction refers specifically to the United States, but it is based on a world view that may be stated in four assumptions: The first is that the task will be undertaken not *for* society but *by* society, in the spirit of Lester Ward's phrase—the conscious improvement of society by society. The second assumption is that the goal of reconstruction will be the utmost in livelihood for the greatest number of people over the longest period of time. Third, that both natural and social science will be employed to the fullest extent compatible with human well-being. The fourth assumption is based on recognition of the existence of a world community and the establishment of a world government competent to maintain order under law and to formulate a global social plan.

The first post-war task facing the American people will be physical relief, both at home and abroad. Tens of millions must be fed, clothed, rehoused, regrouped, re-employed. The need will be urgent in the Americas. It will be doubly imperative in Europe and in China. During the first post-war years this need for immediate physical relief will be a first charge on the productive capacity of the United States and of every other industrialized community.

Early in the process, and as an essential part of the relief program, capital goods as well as consumption goods must be supplied to war-wrecked and economically backward regimes. Building and road-building machinery, agricultural and industrial equipment, mining and power-generating machines will be essential for communities that are rebuilding or industrializing.

How will such essentials be paid for? At home and abroad by some variant of the lend-lease formula. In an emergency as wide and deep as the present one, each group or community that enjoys a surplus must be prepared to share it with the less fortunate.

The economic reorganization of the United States will be undertaken in accordance with a broad, global social plan, in the making of which American delegates will, of course, participate. It will have many phases.

IV

Structural changes in United States economy would begin with the grouping of specialized production agencies—power generation, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transportation—into regional areas. The nucleus of each area would be a natural advantage such as a power site, a mineral deposit, an unusual fertility advantage, or a strategic exchange advantage such as a good harbor. While there would be no attempt to make each area self-sufficient, there would be a definite effort to reduce long hauls, offset competitive wastes and turn out all goods and services with the greatest net efficiency.

Each economic region would produce a major part of its own food, but it would be necessary to bring from other regions specialized products such as citrus fruits and cereal grains. Most regions doubtless would turn out certain manufactures for which they were peculiarly fitted and exchange them for the specialties of other regions. But each region would coordinate the various branches of its own economy and see to it that they functioned effectively in terms of local needs as well as in terms of a continental economic plan.

Public utilities such as transportation and communication would be coordinated continentally and linked up regionally.

Under such a scheme, farming no longer would be an isolated enterprise, carried on hit or miss, here and there. It would be a department of public economy like mining or transport. As such it would be organized and equipped to yield a maximum of advantage not only to farmers, but to all other departments of economy, including the consumer cooperatives.

Production would be coordinated. It also would be decentralized. Industry and people have both moved into cities during recent decades. Three forces have directed this movement: the desire of the employer for cheap labor; the desire of the merchant for more customers; and the desire of the landlord for higher rents.

Employer, merchant, and landlord cannot all be satisfied. If wages are low, rents and sales cannot be high. This conflict of interests has led many industries to migrate from high-rent, high-wage centers into lower-cost areas. The trend toward decentralization has been accentuated by the wide distribution of electric power and by the general use of automobiles as a means of getting to work.

Although the trend is desirable, its present anti-social cause must give place to a socially motivated plan. The decentralization of industry and of populations must proceed under two general directives:

1. A population per square mile compatible with the maximum of health, freedom, and social opportunity for the individuals in succeeding generations.
2. A limit on population density that will allow for effective direct control of local affairs by the citizenry.

As for low-cost production, it must take the leavings. A rationally directed community will put both health and freedom above efficiency. If production costs run too high, they can be lowered by technical improvements.

V

Decentralization and the relocation of populations would provide an unparalleled opportunity to rehouse the people of the United States. This would mean the end of slums and shacks. It would give architects and city planners a chance to do for the United States and for North America what men and women of the same professions were doing

in Amsterdam, Vienna, Frankfort, and many other parts of Europe before the blackout of depression and war put a temporary end to their efforts.

Rehousing would provide more than an opportunity for professional designers and builders. It would give each local community a chance to discuss and decide the character and general layout of its architecture. Furthermore, it would afford each family an opportunity to design, construct, and decorate its dwelling or homestead.

Populations may be rehoused for the profit of contractors and builders or for the benefit of the people. If popular benefit is the objective, a rehousing project spread over several generations can provide adult education at the same time that it satisfies man's need to express and create. Some of the finest examples of creative architecture are found in European villages and towns, built through generations by local craftsmen.

Creative opportunity must not be limited to one generation. Young people who decide to settle down and raise families should have the chance to plan, build, and decorate their own homes. If they find the job completed and have nothing better to do than attend the movies, they or their children will be recruited easily into storm-troop battalions.

VI

An economic reorganization of the U. S. A. would involve a program of social insurance as a matter of course. It would go beyond that, however, with a program designed to safeguard health. Such a program would include a balanced diet, sunshine, fresh air, exercise, recreation. It also would involve the creative use of leisure time.

Time was when most men and women and children grew things. Only the few were shut away from the good earth inside city walls. Today the situation is reversed. Only the few grow things, and the many are prisoners of specialized commodity production and city slums, staring at blank walls or gazing through window glass at the great outdoors.

The victims of industrial specialization can be relieved in part by living closer to nature, by enjoying ample leisure, and by using it creatively.

Leisure is used creatively when it results in a more complete expression of the personality and/or in more advantageous social relationships. Spectatorism and other forms of escape do not meet the need. Free time should be used chiefly for neither recreation nor diversion but for the fundamental tasks of building character and improving the social environment.

WARNING!

The promise of a new world may be an indispensable condition of starting a modern war, but once the war has really got going it will run itself; the new world can then be dropped or even repudiated.

Already, in Britain, belief in a new world is as dead as mutton. The Atlantic Charter is as sounding brass in the speeches of despairing politicians, who more and more assume the character of marionettes on the stage of public life.

A new Europe or a new world, in definite outline, composed of living substance and full of the breath of democracy, would be the most powerful weapon either side could use. That the United Nations do not use it is the final proof that no such weapon is in their possession. It is now revealed that the Government wants nothing more than the world of 1939, spruced up but structurally unchanged.

WILFRED WELLOCK
in *Peace News* (London),
December, 1942

VII

Such a program of economic reorganization and reconstruction would involve certain basic alterations in economic and social relationships. The first and most obvious of these would be the drastic restriction of free enterprise within the framework of a broad social plan. Within this social framework there would be no place for freebooting, profiteering, or any other form of individual adventurism that might endanger the well-being of the community. Social ownership and control of the means of production is an essential attribute of such a setup.

A general social plan would include many items beyond planned production. Among them would be a guaranteed livelihood minimum based upon a goods budget; an export balance from every community (the balance would provide the means of running the central bureaucratic apparatus); the extension of democratic practices to the field of economic relationships; and a reorganization of formal education.

A family that through one means or another doubles its income usually moves from its old quarters into a more spacious and satisfying dwelling place. More often than not it plans, builds, and decorates the new home. Industrialization has more than doubled the income of the modern world. It has multiplied it many times. What waste to let the increased productivity lie idle! What folly to squander it on war! How much more sensible to make over the social environment nearer to heart's desire—to plan, build, and decorate a new home for the human family!

With steam and electricity, and the new powers born of progress, forces have entered the world that will either compel us to a higher plane or overwhelm us, as nation after nation, as civilization after civilization, have been overwhelmed before. It is the delusion which precedes destruction that sees in the popular unrest with which the civilized world is feverishly pulsing only the passing effect of ephemeral causes. . . . We cannot go on permitting men to vote and forcing them to tramp. We cannot go on educating boys and girls in our public schools and then refusing them the right to earn an honest living. We cannot go on prating of the inalienable rights of man and then denying the inalienable right to the bounty of the Creator. Even now, in old bottles the new wine begins to ferment, and elemental forces gather for the strife!

HENRY GEORGE,
in *Progress and Poverty* (1879)

In our time, on whatever level men can understand, in darkness and light —

The Waters Are Mixing

By FERNER NUHN

Author of "The Wind Blew from the East"

THE God that divided the waters is bound to see them mingled again! And the waters over the world—the great streams of human life and culture whose source can be only one—these waters are mixing in our time.

No one ought to deplore the divisions, in themselves, that we find in this physical world of ours. Quite literally, we owe our lives to division: to a universe that continually "divides the waters from the waters." Living in a differentiated universe is the condition, and also the price, of individuality. Differentiation is but another name, too, for evolution; and if we imagine ourselves rather highly evolved, with a greater range of consciousness, and with a sharper sense of identity, it is only because the life pattern in our species has undergone division within division, and made distinction upon distinction, in the course of its development.

And here is man, too, divided and separated into many strands of his kind, and many kinds of each strand, down to the individual person. But again, this is the price of every man's personality, as it is the condition of his humanity. "The gods, in the beginning," said Emerson in the words of an old fable, "divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself; just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its own end."

Shall we not say that differentiation is a condition of unity itself, as we would agree that a hand has a unity which a flipper does not have? I cannot imagine unity, or identity, except along with its other pole of difference or multiformity.

Seeing man unhelpful to himself, let us not waste energy supposing it is because he is broken into black and white and yellow, and distributed on islands and continents, and having back of him different streams of culture. Men are apart and distinct in order to share the same world, and build, with different aptitudes, the same life: potentially on a level of unity such as is now but dimly seen, and whose quality has been felt only by a few great universal men.

But the waters are mingling!—on whatever level men can make out and understand; in the darkness, in the light.

They are mingling in the darkness, for what we cannot visualize as true, in the imagination, we must test out in blood and substance and pain. If we do not trust the word of the mind, that men are the same, though apart and different, then we must experience the fact in the body. It is a terrible and sad, yet true, law of history: men must be confronted by evidence more drastic than their unbelief. Step by step, person by person, group by group, the harsher evidence must be seen and felt and tasted. This drastic evidence is simply injury to ourselves and our interests: physical, immediate, substantial.

Because we do not believe what we say—that truth is one and men are equal under the truth—we will prove it in the equality of broken bodies and spilled blood. Because our imaginations are dim, we will test out in fact, item by item, that list of attributes of human beings, Jew or Gentile, drawn up by Shylock: hands, organs, dimensions, affections, passions. We will prick each other, and see if we do not bleed, and wrong each other, and revenge our wrongs, and see if these things are not every man's, and if they are not weapons that cut both ways, whoever uses them. We will prove whether to hurt men is not to hurt man.

The white man has seen the yellow man as strange, and despised him as poor, weak, and backward. The yellow man has feared or mistrusted the white man as greedy, arrogant, ambitious—and again, different. The imagination has failed to leap the differences in color and culture and the distance in space. Then, from being alien and apart, we will meet at closer hand, and discover how different we are and how much alike.

The Level of Our Faith

We will mingle on the level of our common faith, whatever it is—high as it is, low as it is. If it is faith in physical power and physical courage, we will join hands and come to know each other better on the level of physical power and courage. And the soldier with courage will respect the soldier with courage. Contempt is a luxury he cannot well afford. But the soldier will gather trophies of his adversary, not differing greatly in this from his remote forebear who carried away parts or weapons of the enemy as thereby also acquiring the enemy's courage. Unless watched, he may even fraternize with his enemy in the distant outposts—boy soldier with boy soldier—so much in the same situation across a narrow line of battle.

The waters are mixing. Though yellow men fight each other, we can be sure it does not pass unnoticed over the world wherever there are peoples of dark skin, that a colored people has arisen to challenge white power in kind. We can be sure there is sometimes a thought in the minds of Hindus, and Malays, and Ethiopians, and even American Negroes, and even Chinese opposing Japanese, that there is a kind of logic behind the cruel demonstration: that white power can be driven from yellow lands by yellow power. This, apparently, had to be proved; and this, too, is a mixing of the waters.

But because most groups of people, whether joined by civil laws and customs or by bonds of belief, do not believe what they mostly profess to—that their laws are based on universal truth, and their God is the living God of the universe—they will be to each other as strangers, and agree in their unbelief. Each group will suppose that falsehood may be justified in its own cause, while it condemns the causes of others; and that even virtue in an enemy is not approved by heaven. Each will suppose itself favored as a body or institution, and imagine that its familiar sacred

names will save it, whether it does right or wrong in truth. Each will make of its God a small patron and local power; as if the life of the universe were now restricted to a part of the universe, and truth had yielded its power in alien places. The non-believer in truth, too, will suppose that his freedom from belief gives him a peculiar advantage, and that he can make untruths do better work than truths. Because we will not be equal in the light of truth, we will be equal in darkness, and run into things blindly.

Goodness does not live in us by default. In the failure to act by a better principle that we know, we will have demonstrated for us action by a worse principle, in all its scope and force. Here is the black logic of *Mein Kampf*, and the savage outworn code of the Japanese warrior-guilds. All, at center, a lie against the nature of men and the truth of truth! Yet, while it is a lie that unfortunately its proponents seem to believe, it is one, alas that its opponents manifestly do not disbelieve. For when have the nations that ask to be thought on the side of good principle disowned the principle of their own self-interest as their first consideration, or force as the method of maintaining it?

For this reason the raging voice storms over the air: "We are not different, then, in our first concern! — only let me show you what this rule means! Let me press it to its own true limits, this principle of sovereign self-power that you have not let go of, and that I simply take up once more with the utmost vigor and will!"

How far does the lie enter, and how far back are we pressed, grasping the same weapon, and demonstrating the same law that greater force breeds greater force and greater hate greater hate, but never wins another human mind; before we own some different truth that we will hold to and use?

On this ground we try the issue, and make it a common ground. By this rule we reach deeper into the earth for the material power on which we rely, and further into men's brains for the cunning to spend it more furiously. How long may this process continue and repeat itself? As long as we believe in its efficacy, and do not disbelieve in it; as long as we are more ready to spend life and substance to do injury to men we fear (which is the case now) than to do good to men. The process might well continue, otherwise, until we exhaust the more anciently-stored energies of the earth itself—the coal and oil and ore that are the legacy of millions of years of slow storing of the sun's power, whose use characterizes our era, and which we are now spending as in a day and a night.

Shall men not disarm themselves until they are themselves disarmed? Must the toys with which they could not be trusted be taken away and a shorn race be left harmless again in an earth of plants and waterfalls? This could be.

But the waters are mixing, in the darkness, but *also in the light;* for there is no meaning to what is mistaken and harmful except in the light of what is true and good. This light is the knowledge of unity in spite of difference. It is knowledge that physical variety and separation in space are the conditions of spiritual unity, as they are the grounds of individual life. Failing in spiritual unity, we also have failed to make some necessary distinction and allowance in physical fact; but succeeding in the one we succeed also in the other. The light is itself the spirit in which we see distinctions and recognize and reconcile differences; as in the light of the sun we recognize forms and colors everywhere, everywhere different and distinct, yet everywhere revealed in the one light. It is knowledge such as everyone knows when he loves another person; a mother loving a child, not for herself, but for its own sake — finding the greatest pleasure in the child's voluntary activity and powers; a brother enjoying the success of a brother; lovers most happy in knowing, though different in sex and person, a life together. The light is the certainty that love is of more profit than hate, and this both to others and to oneself.

The waters are mixing in this light. Strange and far-separated peoples begin to know their fate as more common than different, as the fingers might begin to know a common life in the hand. Peoples divided or disordered within are aware they must order their own house and make peace among themselves before they can ask strongly for peace without. Boys sent from their homes to the ends of the earth return with facts seen for suppositions heard. The globe rounds almost before our eyes, and currents flow back eastward from India, as they had flowed westward from Palestine and Greece and England. This too is a mixing of the waters.

Light, or knowledge, is not in any one place alone, or among any one people; and no body of people has a monopoly of it, or can have; any more than men can lock up the sunlight. There is no rivalry, no exclusion, no property in truth. He who supposes he has more light than another is only asked to give more; or his light is already shadowed. We can be glad that truth is everywhere, and is seen in some degree by people everywhere, under the same or different names; for it is the truth that counts, and is of advantage to us all. The God that divided the waters in order to multiply life, and share being, holds the light above the darkness, and mingles the waters in this light.

NEW LOYALTY

Let us no more be true to boasted race and clan,
But to our highest dream, the brotherhood of man.
Shall Babel walls of greed and selfishness divide?
Shall not the love of friends illume the patriot's pride?
For moated arsenals let shrines of art atone;
Where armies met in blood, let garden plots be sown.
Let royal hunting grounds be parceled out anew
That little children's feet may know the grass and dew.
No more shall Mammon play with pawns of toiling men,
No more shall blood be spilled that Greed may count its gain.
Let patience be our power and sympathy our court,
With love our only law and faith our only fort.
New thoughts, new hopes, new dreams, new starry worlds to scan,
As Time proclaims the dawn, the brotherhood of man.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK

What is the truth behind the charges being leveled at organized labor? Are the workers selfishly demanding more than their just due? Are they trying to sabotage the war effort?

Labor, Inflation, and the War

By A. J. MUSTE

TO those who lack information with which to appraise the accuracy and significance of the headlines of the past month or two, it must seem that organized labor, and especially John L. Lewis, is engaged in a vast campaign to defeat the war effort. This effort, the headlines indicate, includes deliberate slacking on the job, absenteeism in war industries, and a selfish attempt to raise wages at a time when everyone should be sacrificing freely.

It is true that the United Mine Workers of America, of which Lewis is the president, have asked for a two-dollar per day increase in wages for approximately half a million members. In addition, they are seeking, for certain other provisions, including pay "from portal to portal," i.e. from the time a man actually enters the mine to the time he leaves it, since a miner may consume as much as an hour and a half a day going from the pit mouth to his place of work and back. But the miners are not alone in seeking a raise. The 1,250,000 members of the powerful railroad labor unions have been negotiating for months for increases that would involve an annual increase of three-quarters of a billion dollars, as against the three hundred million involved in the miners' demands. A short while ago, the War Labor Board had seven thousand other appeals for wage increases on its books!

The workers and their unions justify these pleas on the simple ground that the cost of living, and especially of food, has gone up sharply, and readers will not need to be convinced of the accuracy of that allegation. George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L., and a conservative trade unionist and Administration supporter, laid before President Roosevelt figures from a typical mid-western city indicating that between January, 1941 and January, 1942 the price of butter had risen 51 per cent, while potatoes had gone up 96 per cent; sausage 100 per cent, condensed milk 81 per cent, and so on.

Quotation of such figures has brought the quick retort that any increase in wages is bound to lead to another increase in prices, bringing the dreaded inflationary spiral. Moreover, Labor's critics point out, we are at war, and must expect to see our standard of living cut.

To such critics organized labor answers that the sacrifices should fall first and most heavily on those who can best afford it. Mr. Lewis declared recently that a Treasury report for the first nine months of the current fiscal period revealed expenditures for the war effort alone of $50,574,000,000. He estimated that of this amount 12½ per cent, or $6,250,000,000, was profit to industry and finance. . . . "Six billion, two hundred fifty million dollars profit in nine months," added Mr. Lewis, "represents the difference between inflation and non-inflation in the United States." (The union leader made it clear that under the term "profit" he included not only actual dividends to investors, but funds put into reserve accounts, etc.)

The pressure of the Congressional farm bloc for higher prices for farmers enters into the picture. Most labor spokesmen profess solidarity with the mass of farmers and farm workers, but claim that the Administration has knuckled under to Southern senators and big farmers. Well-informed publicists such as John Beecher, who has been connected with the Federal employment service, contend that the draft laws are so drawn that hundreds of thousands of farm hands will be "frozen" in their jobs, though they may work only part of the year and on crops such as cotton for which there is no urgent need. This, of course, tends to keep the wages of such workers down. "Demanding parity —meaning the right balance between the prices of what the farmer sells and what he buys—the big farmers say nothing about parity between what they pay their help and what the industrialists pay their employees. In 1910, last year of the 'normal' period of agricultural-industrial balance on which the parity formula is based, farm workers got on the average 87 per cent as much as industrial common laborers. . . . Today the experienced agricultural worker averages on an hourly basis, only 38 per cent of the starting rate for an unskilled factory laborer."

Labor Attacks the Administration

However, the main drive of Labor's recent attack over the failure to stem inflation has been against the Roosevelt Administration itself. Specific instances of inconsistency and "playing politics," as well as a general charge of failure to take clean-cut and courageous action, are adduced. For example, while Administration spokesmen flay John L. Lewis for demanding wage increases, former National Democratic Chairman Edward J. Flynn, whom the President tried to make ambassador to Australia a short time ago, is spending full time as counsel for the railroad unions in their efforts to secure pay increases!

Another example is seen in the fact that some time ago the mining industry went from a five-day to a six-day week at the insistence of Secretary Ickes. Mine operators insisted that if the price of labor was to be at time-and-a-half rate for the sixth day's work, they would have to receive a higher price for coal. The Office of Price Administration accordingly granted an increase of 22 cents a ton for all coal mined, whether on straight time or time and a half, though less than half of the miners are worked on the sixth day! There are commentators who conclude that what this did was to "let the government provide money for wage increases Lewis was about to demand."

Recently, after numerous demands that something be done about the inflation threat, the President vetoed a farm bloc

measure that would have increased food prices, and then early in April issued his "hold the line" order: "To hold the line we cannot tolerate further increases in prices affecting the cost of living or further increases in general wage or salary rates, except where clearly necessary to correct substandard living conditions. The only way to hold the line is to stop trying to find justifications for holding it here or not holding it there." The order provides for the establishment of ceiling prices on all commodities affecting the cost of living and for the reduction of excessively high prices; it forbids further wage and salary increases and the employment of men in new jobs at higher wages; and it calls for no rate increases for common carriers and, where possible, rate reductions.

A short time ago, one of the best-informed observers of labor matters stated that "dissatisfaction among war workers everywhere with federal labor policies has turned the entire defense industry into a powder keg which may go off any minute in a series of outlaw strikes." Whether the President's recent order will forestall any such development remains to be seen.

The miners may get a wage increase in one of two ways: the War Labor Board might rule that their living conditions are "sub-standard" and that an exception should therefore be made in their case; or the recent Federal court order under which non-ferrous miners are paid "from portal to portal" might be applied to coal miners, which could mean an increase of a dollar or more per day. If the miners do get an increase, other workers will clamor for one; if the miners do not get an increase, they and other workers will be resentful. It is most unlikely that even in that case John L. Lewis will call or countenance a strike. Instead, he will probably point out that the Administration is "betraying" the workers again, and bide his time. Unless the President and Congress are prepared to follow up the recent order with drastic tax legislation, this dam against inflation will presently also be swept away.

Labor the Traitor?

Currently a mighty effort is under way to make it appear that Labor is the traitor unwilling to accept its share of sacrifice, haggling over a dollar or over a shop rule while American soldiers die for lack of supplies in far-away lands. The barrage of charges about absenteeism and slacking on the job that filled the papers for many days was part of this effort. The facts seem to be that workers have turned out a stupendous amount of production; that no section of the population as yet has been ready to accept the sacrifices that total war undoubtedly will exact; that while the workers are not angels, most of the absenteeism still is due to sickness, poor transportation and housing conditions, shortage of materials, and similar factors over which they have no control.

Though government agencies and many employers testify to this, the attack against Labor continues. At the end of March there were thirty-one bills in Congress urging the outlawing of strikes, the licensing of union officials, the end of all picketing, and other restrictions on labor organizations. In Kansas a sweeping bill limiting the freedom of Labor to organize has been enacted. In nineteen other states the legislatures already had such bills under consideration. Eddie Rickenbacker's vicious anti-union campaign, including the proposal to organize a "union" to fight unionism—The War Mothers' Clubs of America—is no longer on the front pages, but in millions of minds the idea that unions are enemies of the nation and the war effort has been planted more firmly, and the work goes on, though for the moment less ostentatiously. Those who remember that this is one of the leading elements in the strategy of fascism—the labor movement was blamed for the unpreparedness and collapse of France, for example—shudder at these developments.

Can organized labor cope with the danger? My own conviction is that it cannot do so effectively because neither its leaders nor its members recognize that prosecution of war and the protection and advancement of the interests of the common people are contradictory. John L. Lewis is the one outstanding union leader who seems to have an inkling of this truth. Thus, on April 10, in contending that the President's order would not stop inflation, he said: "Inflation to some degree is a definite concomitant of any war. War is a destroyer of human and economic values. It utilizes and destroys material of every character, virile manpower in the armies." It is possible to prevent inflation in the strict sense of the term, but only by complete regimentation, and that will bear hardest on the plain people.

Furthermore, total regimentation means that unions and other free associations are destroyed or made mere tools of the state. This also Mr. Lewis knows. One remembers that although Lewis at one time encouraged Communists in the CIO, he did not cease his critical attitude toward the war when, with Hitler's attack on Russia, the Communists became ardent supporters of the war. One would like to believe that his personal grudge against Roosevelt played only a minor role here, and that we have in Lewis a powerful potential anti-war leader, but so far the evidence to support such a hope is meager. Lewis' course seems more likely to lead to further cleavages in the union movement and alliance with Republican elements.

Schisms Typical

This is typical of the movement as a whole. Bitter jurisdictional disputes rage between the A. F. of L. and CIO unions for control over the workers in shipyards and other war plants. The International Association of Machinists, with 620,000 members, was to vote in April on leaving the A. F. of L. because the Carpenters, another A. F. of L. union are raiding its members. We may get a labor movement split into six groups: A. F. of L., CIO, railroad brotherhoods, the miners, the machinists, and a federation of independent unions. Disputes over protests by labor groups against the execution of the Polish Social Democrats, Ehrlich and Alter, by the Soviet Government show how big the cleavage is between Communist and anti-Communist elements, especially in the CIO. Division among democratic forces always plays into the hands of fascism.

If it is hard to draw hope from this analysis that Labor will give strong leadership for a people's peace and a democratic post-war order, that is all the more reason why we should not join in a hue and cry against Labor, or support measures designed to regiment it. We must stand for freedom at all times. And it is not hopeless to expect that the labor movement will retain a genuine measure of freedom. Only fascist elements can gain from its destruction. On the other hand, it is time for Labor to face the fact that War is the enemy, and to shape its course accordingly.

Democracy on Trial

By
Mary U. Farquharson

Gordon Hirabayashi is an FOR member who refused to obey evacuation orders. His case, now before the United States Supreme Court, constitutes an important test of American democracy in war time. The FOR's Secretary for the Northwest here tells the story of Gordon's heroic fight against injustice.

IT was late in the afternoon as my husband and I, with a sense of deep shame, left our Seattle friends "of Japanese ancestry" behind barbed wire fences in the Puyallup Evacuation Center. During our visit we had chatted and kept smiling when military guards had reminded us to stand "three feet away from the wire, please," but there had been little attempt to hide the unrelieved ache in all our hearts.

This was the first Sunday since the Seattle Japanese had been forced to leave their homes, and we knew that within another week the rural people who had cultivated so well the rich green valley between Seattle and Tacoma would be among those "enemies" who must go to Manzanar, California —one of the most unbearably hot and barren spots in the country. Included in that group would be the Hirabayashi family—all except Gordon—and so of course we must stop to see them in their roadside store on our way back to Seattle. The last time I had stopped in that store—about a year before—it had been with a carload of University students, including Gordon. We had been on our way to a student Y.M.-Y.W. conference in Portland. Gordon, being the oldest son in his family, and an American citizen, had the property in his name and it was necessary for him to stop at home on our way to the conference to handle some business.

When we met Gordon's mother we knew why Gordon was the kind of boy he was. Mrs. Hirabayashi did not speak very much English—long hours on a farm and in a store, and making a home for her husband and five remarkably promising children, as well as helping to carry the load for many over-burdened neighbors, had left no time for learning English. But the hard work had not been wearing—she was a very attractive Japanese woman with the indescribably gracious manner which some of us have come to expect. Every delicacy in the store which we could possibly take with us for a "light" lunch was pressed upon us.

That had been a year before, but on this Sunday Mrs. Hirabayashi was weeping. On top of the tragedy of the evacuation, Gordon was a prisoner, no one knew where, for refusing to comply with the evacuation order. She told us how she had pleaded with him not to resist the authorities. Above all things she had always trained her children to be good citizens. And now, he might be in a military guardhouse or a county jail, but in his mother's imagination he was being tortured somewhere. In her broken English she told of her dream the night before, of soldiers driving up in front of the store holding Gordon gagged and bound.

But even while she was weeping Gordon's mother told us that his reply to her pleading not to resist the Order, over and over again had been, "Mamma, I must—I must." To those of us who knew Gordon there was no question of his obedience to something higher than the state. On the eve of surrendering to the F.B.I. he wrote a short statement as to why he was refusing to obey. ". . . This order . . . forces thousands of energetic, law-abiding individuals to exist in a miserable psychological and a horrible physical atmosphere. . . . Hope for the future is exterminated. Human personalities are poisoned. . . . If I were to cooperate under those circumstances, I would be giving helpless consent to the denial of practically all of the things which give me incentive to live. I must maintain my Christian principles. I consider it my duty to maintain the democratic standards for which this nation lives. . . ."

II.

Today, as well as for many months past, Gordon's mother and his family have been his strongest supporters. This shoving around of 112,000 persons, the large majority of whom are citizens, has revolutionized attitudes and created havoc. The preamble to the President's proclamation, under which the evacuation was carried out says in part: ". . . the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, premises, and utilities." Acts of sabotage and espionage are treason. So in effect the evacuation order says: Because of your ancestry we strongly suspect you of treason. We find you guilty of being potential traitors—all of you—because of your race. To a group of people who above all things have trained their children to be good citizens this expression of "white superiority" is bewildering and humiliating. There is not an authenticated instance of individual disloyalty among Americans of Japanese ancestry,[1] and official statements regarding sabotage[2] leave no room for argument—only for propaganda.

Gordon's decision to be true to the inner voice has brought the case of *Gordon Hirabayashi* vs. *the United States* to the highest court in the land with amazing swiftness. Through very unusual legal procedure the case has jumped from the U. S. District Court in Seattle to the United States Supreme Court where it is set for May 3. The far-reaching effects of the decision, whichever way it goes, I think are incalculable. There are many legal issues to be settled but rid of all technical verbiage the crucial question which will affect immeasurably the lives of every citizen is this: Can the war powers of government, in a situation short of martial law, take precedence over constitutional guarantees? The President's Proclamation attempts a sweeping transferral of power from civil law to military commanders. ". . . I hereby . . . direct the Secretary of War and the military commanders who he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas, in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate military commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate military commander may impose." One West Coast justice of a U. S. District Court, Judge James Alger Fee, last November ruled in the Minoru Yasui case that the "civil power in this country is supreme. Neither directly nor indirectly can the military power become dominant. Nor is the situation changed by the incidence of war." He said this doctrine has been reaffirmed many times by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Will it be reaffirmed once again? Government attorneys and most judges of the lower courts have talked very little about the Constitution but a great deal about imminent catastrophe. "Lightning war," "West Coast invasion," "Survival"—it is Fear which is riding high in our councils today. If the highest court holds steady, and reaffirms once more the American tradition, democratic government will have been many times reinforced. If this court too is gripped by Fear and a decision should sweep aside the safeguards against a totalitarian state, then at least we shall continue the steep climb with our eyes open. This is always the better way. America is on trial in the person of her native son—Gordon Hirabayashi.

[1] Brief for Japanese American Citizens League, Amicus Curiae, John T. Regan vs. Cameron King p. 64.
[2] Tolan Congressional Report No. 2124 pp. 48-58.

Round-up of C.O. News

CPS Skirts Crisis

Hershey Order Brings Wide Protest

A crisis in the relations between Selective Service and the various pacifist groups supporting Civilian Public Service camps loomed during the past month as an outgrowth of the decision by a number of men in CPS camps to meet for a "Social Action Conference" in Chicago, April 12 to 18. With approximately fifty men scheduled to attend as representatives of the various camps, plans for the Conference were thrown into sudden confusion by an order from General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service head, forbidding the men to attend the conference. The Hershey letter, which went to all camp directors, specified that men in the camps are "at all times" under the direction and control of Selective Service and will be until final discharge.

Strong Protests Voiced

The order met with immediate protest from men in the camps and pacifist leaders alike. A. J. Muste and Evan Thomas issued a "personal memorandum" on the matter in which they questioned the constitutionality and legality of the order, and described its effects as leaving CPS men no civil liberties "except such as (General Hershey) deigns to allow them." Under such circumstances, the memorandum continued, it is "utterly untenable" to believe that pacifist groups have "any genuine share in control of alternative service." Moreover, the two pacifist leaders added, under this "totalitarian regime" they would "fully support men who . . . feel in conscience bound to leave camp or . . . refuse to work. . . . We believe they will be rendering a service to the nation, to democracy, and to pacifism."

Conference Postponed

Meanwhile the organizers of the Chicago conference, unwilling to yield to the Hershey directive but uncertain as to the best course to pursue, postponed the conference one week. On April 19, in spite of an urgent request from the NSBRO that a further postponement would help to ease the situation, the meeting began with 34 persons present, eighteen of them from CPS camps.

65,000 British C.O.s

Latest reports from England indicate that thus far more than 65,000 men and 2,500 women have claimed classification as conscientious objectors. British law provides for complete exemption of C.O.s found to be sincere "absolutists."

More Guinea Pigs

Eight more CPS men joined the ranks of the "guinea pigs" when they went to the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene at the University of Minnesota for a series of food and diet experiments. Another C.O. is in a New York hospital as a subject for experiments connected with cancer research.

NSBRO Directors Confer with Hershey

As this issue of *Fellowship* goes to press, we have been advised that, on invitation of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, General Hershey met with the members of the Board in Washington for four hours on the evening of Friday, April 16. The purpose of the meeting was to review the relationships between Selective Service and the NSBRO in the interests of clearer understanding and increased effectiveness.

Among other matters, General Hershey's directive of March 31 in relation to the Chicago Conference on Social Action was fully and frankly discussed, including its very direct bearing upon civil liberties and the authority earlier delegated to the NSBRO to administer as it found desirable the affairs of Civilian Public Service assignees while they are not actually engaged upon work projects. No fundamental disagreements were discovered in any of the matters discussed. At every point there was indication that full agreement might be reached under the terms and within the areas as earlier established.

Recognizing both the necessity for further consultation, if only to provide means of implementing mutual understandings reached, and the very real desire on the part of all concerned to arrive at full agreement, various of the members of the NSBRO, whatever their personal judgments about the Chicago Conference itself, after the meeting expressed the opinion that the concerns of all in CPS would be best served if the Conference were not held, as planned, on April 19, while these consultations were in progress. On the afternoon of the seventeenth this opinion was unofficially communicated to the secretary of the Conference.

It is anticipated that it will shortly be possible to announce with definiteness the agreements that will then have been reached with Selective Service upon the matters discussed in the April 16 meeting.

President Approves CPS China Unit

After two years of delay and discouragement, CPS men at last have the satisfaction of knowing that one unit of their number has been approved for work in foreign territory, and in the war area at that. A personal letter from President Roosevelt has approved the organization of a unit of seventy men to do relief and reconstruction work in China. Responsibility for preparing the men has been assigned to Nelson Fuson, FOR-sponsored assignee at Columbia University, and a former physics instructor at Rutgers University.

Other Openings

Other opportunities for work outside the camps also have been opening up recently. The unit in Puerto Rico, hitherto consisting of eleven men, has been increased to 25, with Rufus King, another Columbia Unit assignee, in charge of the new detachment. The Puerto Rico group, known as the Martin G. Brumbaugh Unit, is under the direction of the Brethren Service Committee.

The NSBRO announced that the list of approved mental hospitals has been increased so that there are now places for more than 1,200 men in this work, of which some 900 have so far been filled.

Another unique project is the 60-man unit of "Forestry paratroopers" that will begin training at Missoula, Montana, on May 15. These men will be trained to drop by parachute in order to fight forest fires at otherwise almost inaccessible points.

Danbury Hunger Strikers Continue Long Fast

Stanley Murphy and Lou Taylor, conscientious objectors who walked out of the Civilian Public Service camp at Big Flats, New York, at this writing are in the 67th day of their hunger strike in Danbury (Conn.) Federal Penitentiary, where they are serving a 2½-year sentence.

The two men, whose protest is directed against conscription and war, are being force-fed through tubes inserted in the nostrils.

Efforts to find a solution that would enable the men to end their fast so far have resulted in deadlock. Some think that Murphy and Taylor might be willing to accept general parole if they were assured that the same provisions would be extended to other conscientious objectors in prison and would not be a special dispensation accorded to them alone. Representatives of pacifist groups have been working constantly with officials in Washington and at the prison in an effort to resolve the deadlock, especially through securing a general liberalization of parole procedure.

News from the Peace Front

New Youth Group Wins Approval

As FOR members and other pacifists across the country prepared to help organize local "chapters" of The Forerunners, the newly announced effort of the Fellowship to reach high-school-age young people was meeting with widespread approval. Letters received at national headquarters, located in the FOR offices at 2929 Broadway, New York City, indicated complete agreement with the Fellowship's sense of urgency concerning this work.

Meanwhile, in spite of delays occasioned by war-induced labor shortages, complete packets of materials for both members and leaders were being mailed out by Easter, in time to be used by groups that were being "launched" during the first week of May. Leader's packets included a *Leader's Manual;* two new studybooks, 44 and 52 pages long respectively; free leaflets and folders for widespread distribution among prospective members; a Forerunners wall chart; a copy of the first issue of the monthly newsletter; the *Interracial Primer;* and *The Why and How of Meditation.* The member's Action Kits included the two studybooks, the wall chart, membership certificate, and other material.

Studybooks New Venture

The two studybooks included in these packets are the first of a series that has been contemplated by the FOR Literature Committee for a long while. Written primarily for the use of the Forerunners discussion groups, they are intended also to be adaptable to use by other organized and unorganized groups of young people, in churches, schools, and elsewhere. The committee expects also that they will be of use to adults who have not had the time or opportunity to study lengthier volumes on the subjects treated.

The two now available consider the background of the war and the prospects of the future peace, with suggestions of the kind of action interested persons can take to help prevent more war and to establish a world of brotherhood. Forthcoming booklets will do a more comprehensive job of discussing specific problems that confront peacemakers, including racialism, economics, political disagreements, propaganda, etc.

Members Urged to Take Leadership

FOR members, particularly those with some experience in work with young people of this age, are being urged to volunteer their help in organizing local chapters. John M. Swomley, associate secretary of the FOR, citing the "rapidly increasing regimentation and militarization" of American high schools, declared: "We must take every measure we can to counteract this tendency, and to do so we must depend upon the voluntary aid of our members."

Mr. Swomley added that though a good response has been received, there still are many sections of the country in which no leadership has been proffered.

Supreme Court to Hear Hirabayashi Case

The case of Gordon Hirabayashi versus the United States, upon the decision of which hangs the constitutionality of the whole West Coast evacuation procedure, will be heard by the United States Supreme Court on May 3, in an action almost unprecedented in the swiftness with which it reached the highest tribunal.

Hirabayashi, FOR member and senior at the University of Washington, refused to obey the evacuation and other restrictive orders when they were applied to residents on the West Coast who were of Japanese descent. His case is being financed throughout by contributions from FOR members and from members of the Religious Society of Friends and the American Civil Liberties Union. Mary U. Farquharson, Northwest Secretary for the FOR and former member of the Washington State Legislature, has handled arrangements for the Fellowship.

Refugee Committee Urges Continued Aid

A donation of $100 to the refugee work of the American Friends Service Committee has been announced by the FOR Refugee Committee as its secretary, Marion Frenyear, urged members of the Fellowship to assist in every way possible in this work.

In spite of the dark picture created by increased stringency of war regulations, together with mass deportations and executions of European Jews, refugee committees here agree that rescue of many still is possible. Pointing out that governments act when the people demand action, Miss Frenyear urged FOR members to write to their Congressmen and to the State Department, urging adoption of two proposals put forward by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. These proposals are:

1. That the United States offer financial assistance for the support of any refugees that neutral governments receive from areas under Nazi control, with the expectation that such refugees would be repatriated after the war;

2. That the United States also provide places of temporary asylum to which refugees whom it may be possible to evacuate from European countries may be removed. These refugees would be supported in camps for the duration of the war, with the understanding that they will then be repatriated or provided in other ways with permanent homes.

It was pointed out also that pressure on the State Department to urge that the Visa Division act more quickly on applications might save many lives.

Bronson Clark Sentenced

Bronson Clark, FOR field secretary for the Boston area, was sentenced April 6 to three years in Federal prison for refusal to report to CPS camp.

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Civil Liberties Union Seeks Better C.O. Treatment

Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, in an appeal for funds for the Union's National Committee on C.O.s, has taken direct issue with government interpretation of certain phases of the Selective Service Act. Mr. Baldwin's statement follows:

"There are over one thousand conscientious objectors in Federal prisons. Many of these men were eager to accept work in the Civilian Public Service camps, and a considerable number were pronounced sincere by their draft boards, appeal boards, and even the judges who sentenced them. But the Selective Service boards, interpreting religion in a narrow and often sectarian fashion, held they were not conscientious objectors 'on grounds of religious training and belief' and therefore not entitled to 4-E classification under the Act.

"The situation might be greatly improved if the machinery for 'presidential review' provided in the Act functioned, but contrary to express provisions in the Law, military men and not civilians, rule on such appeals! It is a waste of manpower, to say no more, that convicted conscientious objectors should not promptly be paroled to Civilian Public Service or to other employment, and it has been established that jobs in desperately under-staffed social and educational institutions are open to such men. But again, military men, contrary to law, represent Selective Service on the parole committee.

"To mention another deplorable situation, much of the work being done by the nearly six thousand men in Civilian Public Service camps meets no immediate or major need. Some of it must frankly be described as 'boondoggling' and 'made-work.' Mental and general hospitals, research agencies, and other social institutions are clamoring for the services of conscientious objectors, and the men on their part are eager to do truly useful work which will enable them to employ their talents and training. But progress in remedying the situation is painfully slow.

"Men in Civilian Public Service camps receive no pay from the government. Even their maintenance must be paid by themselves, their families, or by the Historic Peace Churches, or other agencies. Men released for work on farms are actually forced under a ruling by the Comptroller of the United States, to pay back all of their wages not required for bare maintenance into the United States Treasury, or to have it held in escrow by some Federal agency until the use of this money is determined! It is one thing for conscientious objectors to *volunteer* to engage without pay or provision for maintenance in special public service projects, but to *compel* them to work without pay is a grave injustice, and actually to take from them wages they have earned is preposterous and outrageous. It virtually amounts to subjecting them to involuntary servitude, and on top of that, to an extra, confiscatory war-tax!

"It is necessary to arouse public opinion on these and other matters. Responsible officials and departments of the Government must be contacted. Parole and appeal cases by the hundred require attention. The National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union, composed of leading non-pacifists as well as pacifists, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ernest Angell, a distinguished attorney and member of the American Legion, has undertaken this immense and truly patriotic task. The Committee is in need of funds. We urge support of this work. Remittances should be made payable to American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and accompanying note should indicate the purpose of the contribution."

AFSC Announces Seminars

Two International Service Seminars, to bring together students from this and other countries to discuss the establishment of international peace, have been announced by the American Friends Service Committee. Seminars will be held at Guilford College, North Carolina, and at an undesignated location in the Midwest, from June 26 through August 14. Each will be limited to thirty students from foreign countries and ten from the United States.

WRL Resigns from National Service Board

Expressing a willingness to return when certain conditions had been met, the executive committee of the War Resisters League voted on March 22 to resign from the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. Declaring a desire to rescind the action when the Service Board "has adopted the policy of a choice of service, announced it . . . and implemented it," the committee's resolution added: "We wish also to indicate our desire to continue to cooperate with the National Service Board where possible."

The NSBRO Board of Directors, meeting on April 1, voted to acknowledge the resignation in a letter that would be "phrased so as to keep the friendliest feeling possible."

One immediate reaction to the WRL's action was the resignation from the League of John Haynes Holmes, nationally known conscientious objector in two World Wars. Dr. Holmes, pastor of New York's Community Church, has maintained that the first task of pacifists is opposition to war, and has expressed a reluctance to see that issue "confused" with the conscription issue.

Senate Pickets Ask 'People's Peace Now'

Carrying signs and distributing leaflets calling for an immediate peace, a group of young people from the FOR and War Resisters League "picketed" the United States Senate Building in Washington on April 6, twenty-sixth anniversary of the United States' entry into World War I.

Signs carried by the group, calling for a "People's Peace Now," were confiscated and destroyed by police, who did not otherwise interefere with the marchers.

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South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Herman Will, Jr., 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1411 West 22nd Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; *Rural:* Carl J. Landes, Merom, Ind.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Sorokin and Brittain

Man and Society in Calamity, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1943. $3.00.

Humiliation with Honor, by Vera Brittain. With Foreword by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Fellowship Publications, 1943. $1.00.

The authors of these two books have been closer to the world upheaval than most American writers—Professor Sorokin having gone through the last war and the revolution in Russia, and Vera Brittain having lived through the Hitler *blitz* attack on England and the anxiety of a mother's separation from her refugee children. The Russian sociologist, who is today head of the Department of Sociology of Harvard University, draws from an immense accumulation of research into the typical effects on society of war, revolution, famine, and pestilence. He packs a mass of illustration and evidence from many lands and ages into an impressive volume of 300 pages. The British mother and pacifist condenses her world-view and confession of faith into a lucid book one-third this size. She fulfills Sorokin's findings by being, as it were, *Exhibit A* of a major emphasis running through his book. This is the assurance that "Persons with a transcendental system of values and a deep sense of moral duty are the possessors of the values which no man and no catastrophe can take from them. Under all circumstances they can maintain their peace of mind, their conviction of human dignity, their self-respect, and their sense of duty. With these inviolate, they can weather any trial, no matter how severe."

Combining what Sorokin and Miss Brittain envisage about our world situation, the reader gets a view of things which can be reduced to three principal pictures:

1) *Calamity tends to mold an entire culture in its own image.* The present crisis will outlast the present war and our generation and the next must live and work amid its ruins. In line with his previous writings, Sorokin's picture of the *Dies Irae* is substantially as follows: "Not only war, famine, pestilence, and revolution, but a legion of other calamities, are rampant over the whole world. All values are unsettled, all norms broken . . . The crisis is omnipresent and involves almost the whole of culture and society from top to bottom." Millions of human beings are being killed annually and many other millions turned into maimed victims and derelicts, and the toll of human suffering and waste still ahead will be incalculably enormous for all societies, although more for some than for others. All the basic social institutions will be disorganized and greatly remodeled. There will be a period of totalitarian autocracy, of excessive centralization, "of extreme regimentation by an army of commanding bureaucrats." "The life of millions will be characterized by incessant suspense, accompanied by uncertainty and insecurity." Various mental epidemics, irreligion, moral disintegration, broken homes, and dehumanization of a part of humanity confront us. These trends of calamity are already in operation. It is too late to prevent or avert them. But they could be shortened and alleviated by individuals and societies who would bring into play true spiritual values. Such values as those enunciated by Jesus. "Without a reintegrated system of sensory and transcendental values," says Professor Sorokin, "the other measures are not helpful, and they may even be harmful, serving the Dark Angel of Destruction."

Another Picture

2) Yet there is another picture of man and society in calamity that must be set beside the one just sketched. It is the bright side of the dark cloud. Calamity is not an unmixed evil, neither for the individual nor for society. It may be part of an educative process that bumps rigid societies up against basic reality—a very costly method of trial and *error.* "For good or ill calamities are unquestionably the supreme disruptors and transformers of social organization and institutions." The most original contribution of Professor Sorokin's present volume is the insight and evidence he adduces to show that the possibility of good coming out of a given calamity, hinges on what he calls *the diversification and polarization of calamity's social effects,* with a creative response coming out of a section of the society afflicted that will counterbalance the calamity's destruction. For instance, "the same calamity affects different persons and groups in divers, even opposite, ways so far as the concrete changes in their mentality and behavior are concerned." It produces saints as well as sinners. In fact, the leading prophets of the greatest religions have appeared in conjunction with social crises. On this point Sorokin summarizes: "The principal steps in the progress of mankind toward a spiritual religion and a noble code of ethics have been taken primarily under the impact of great catastrophes. The periods of comparative stability, order, and material well-being, and hence of complacency, have scarcely ever given birth to a truly great religion or a truly lofty moral ideal. Herein lies, perhaps, the justification for the signal tragedies of human history."

The diversification and polarization of the effects of calamity are traced and illustrated in various fields such as vital statistics, political and economic organization, science, and the fine arts. But the present review must turn now to a third aspect of the impact of calamity—what it does to the pacifist—and here Vera Brittain speaks to our condition.

3) The *humiliation with honor* of which she writes to her fifteen-year-old son is an apologia for the role of the pacifist minority in the present world crisis. "Pacifism," she says, "is nothing other than a belief in the ultimate transcendence of love over power." War is viewed as "the deadliest disease of our civilization and must be overcome if that civilization is to continue." In a single paragraph, Miss Brittain puts into a nutshell the faith that lies at the basis of pacifism:

"Pacifists are people who want to fight the disease, instead of wasting life, time, and energy in attacking the symptoms. They have come by different roads—the best, perhaps, being actual experience in warfare—to the realization that modern war never achieves even the ends for which it is ostensibly waged, let alone a stable world and a peaceful society. Believing this, they would be false to themselves and their faith in man's capacity for redemption if they supported the present war and collaborated with its leaders."

On the side of positive pacifist action, Vera Brittain recommends a fourfold way: (1) The first duty to be fulfilled is that of *self-conquest.* "War begins first in the human soul. When a man has learned how to wrest honor from humiliation his mastery of his own soul has begun, and by just that much he has brought the war against war nearer to victory." (2) As pacifists, we must *"give whatever assistance we can to those victims of power who endure more than ourselves*—prisoners, refugees, the starving, the young, the bereaved. We must keep ourselves imaginatively conscious of the cost of war in human suffering; we must also investigate and expose that cost, and find, if we can, some form of redemptive consolation for those who have to pay it." (3) "We are called upon, humbly and without self-righteousness, to *keep alive those civilized values of charity, compassion, and truth* to which men return with relief and remorse as soon as war is over, wondering how ever their spiritual focus became so distorted. If this includes the duty of protest against hatred, cruelty, self-interest, and falsehood whenever we come across them, we must not shrink from the resulting unpopularity." (4) We must try "within the limits of our knowledge to plan for the post-war world as its dim outlines emerge through the stifling smoke clouds of war. Our task is that of trying to change the course of history by acting as revolutionary leaven within society."

J. N. S.

Pro and Con

A. J. Muste and Civil Liberties

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is fair enough in commenting on the more favorable aspects of the public temper and the behavior of the government during the war to sound the alarm at future prospects. Once the lid is off at the conclusion of hostilities undoubtedly the larger forces of which Mr. Muste speaks will break loose in a struggle that conceivably may be as bitter and as much marked by repression as the class conflict that arose after World War I, inspired largely by the Russian Revolution and the world-wide attempt to restrain the labor movement.

There are two features of that struggle that seem to me paramount: (1) The conflict between the advocates of unregulated business and the government agencies which will insist upon maintaining regulation. Even if business interests dominate the regulating agencies they are fearful of the principle, and will use every means to destroy it for fear that it may get out of their control.

(2) The second struggle will, of course, be the traditional conflict between labor and capital, employer and employee and, cast upon the larger world-stage, between imperialist forces and their colonial subjects.

Mr. Muste is entirely correct that civil liberties, however good, do not guarantee freedom. Even if the country conceivably were free from all repression that desirable state of civil liberties would merely guarantee that the struggle would be carried on without violence. Civil liberties are tools with which to help build the institutions of greater freedom. If under the stress of war we can keep them comparatively intact, as they are, we will have a much more solid basis for hope that they may be instruments to prevent resort to violence after the war. Of course political freedom will be threatened by the possible dominance of military measures and by the enormous powers of economic regulation. Those are inevitable risks in the aftermath of war and in our economy on the way from capitalism to collectivism.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A. J. Muste's thoughtful review of the hope of civil liberty in America seems to me admirable. He includes factors that the optimist systematically overlooks. With almost every word that he says I should agree although I might make certain different emphases.

I should, for instance, emphasize the fact that there was practically no political opposition to this war although there was not much enthusiasm for it among the masses. In this respect this war is an exception. In every other war since America became a nation, there was strong political opposition during the war. But every other war America entered apparently of her own volition. This war seems to the people to have been forced on the country by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the German and Japanese declarations of war. This is, indeed, an oversimplication of history but it represents the popular feeling. Moreover, popular feeling was right in believing that, once America was in the war, there was no longer any strong center of peace and sanity outside of the war, and that a victory by the totalitarian powers would be an immeasurable calamity. Hence the lack of political opposition. This may not continue to be the case as time goes on, and then the degree of our affection for civil liberty will meet a new test.

I should also stress the fact that liberalism as a philosophy has declined. We have been getting a kind of totalitarian liberalism—a contradiction in terms. Our liberals have been expecting to get from a highly centralized state by propaganda methods and by the exaltation of the methods of war that which is completely inconsistent with liberalism. Hence, consciously or unconsciously, under the pressures of war they have abandoned their liberalism. They want to emulate, more or less, the methods of communism and fascism in order to gain the kind of society they think desirable. They forget that the means they use or approve condition that end.

Nothing in the First World War contained so deep-seated a threat to civil liberty as total conscription, or the Presidential order of February 19, 1942, and the subsequent treatment of Japanese-Americans under it. Yet the majority of the American Civil Liberties Union can find no civil liberties issue in total conscription and expressly supports the Presidential order of February 19, even though it condemns most features of the evacuation which the President intended to authorize by his proclamation. For good measure, the majority of the A.C.L.U. then refused to condemn the peculiar use of the conspiracy indictment method of dealing with the utterances of citizens as seditious. I have little if any use for the persons indicted and I detest many of their opinions. Nevertheless, fair judicial procedure is of the essence of civil liberty and the tendency of liberals to abandon this faith is disquieting. Fortunately the majority of the Supreme Court was more concerned than most liberals over this question, and in the Viereck case it gave us new hope by its insistence on fair play by district attorneys and judges.

NORMAN THOMAS.

Propaganda and the War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It has been my good fortune to read *Propaganda In the Next War* by Captain Sidney Rogerson. This book was published in London in 1938 as one of a series of eight volumes on *The Next War* edited by Liddell Hart and banned from America by the British censorship in 1939. Copies had been secured earlier in the United States. One copy is owned by the Library of Congress. Since the beginning of hostilities this copy has been placed in the rare-book room. Perhaps your readers would be interested in the following significant excerpts:

"There can be no doubt that the next war will be billed as a fight between Democracy and Dictatorship. It may in fact be nothing of the sort. . . . In the ultimate resort alliances spring from the hope of material advantage, not the possession of a common ideological belief, but in our propaganda we must make the facts fit our case as far as possible." (Page 140.)

"In 1914 Japan was our gallant ally, 'the land of little children where the babies are the kings,' the country of the 'Mikado,' the cherry blossom and the chrysanthemum. While with giant strides she was developing commercially and industrially she was a rich market for British goods. At one time even her warships were built in British yards, and as recently as the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923, she was regarded sentimentally as an ex-ally who, though not possibly able to pay our prices, was an important customer. When she began to put to her own uses the machinery and equipment that our manufacturers had sold her, to shut the British trader out of Japan, to undersell him even in his home market, and to develop an imperialistic and frankly annexationist policy, public opinion veered round." (Page 25.)

"Most of the feeling of one ally for another is manufactured." (Page 155.)

"The greatest propaganda force that the world has ever witnessed is the American film industry." (Page 10.)

C. H. HAMLIN.

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

You Saw These!

Small pamphlet reprints of important articles that appeared in *Fellowship*. They are now available for distribution in churches, clubs, and to friends.

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FOR Literature Dept.
2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

This Summer for Service

A Directory of Some Constructive Projects for Study, Fellowship, and Service

American Friends Service Committee

6 Work Camps from Coast to Coast.
Junior Work Camps will be located in areas where high school students may share in community problems.
Migrant Labor Camps will be established as need arises for them.
1 College Credit Seminar following Work Camp period.
5 Civilian Training Units (2 for women only).
3 International Service Seminars.
6 Peace Caravans in California, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Washington—possibly in other states.
10 Institutes of International Relations—2 in Midwest, 3 on West Coast, 5 on East Coast.

Address: Harold Chance, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

American Youth Hostels

Training School, Northfield, Mass. Courses during July and August in recreational leadership, post-war planning, and the international history of hosteling. All expense cost for entire summer, $95.

Farm Camp, Meredith, N. H., from July 1 to August 24. Eight weeks, $110. Four weeks, $60.

Rabbit Hollow Project, Winchester, N. H. AYH will schedule any group wishing to aid in the construction of cabins for an interracial Children's Village for the underprivileged. Sufficient advance notice, in order to hire an experienced carpenter, is required.

Address: Isabel and Monroe Smith, Directors, American Youth Hostels, Inc., Northfield, Mass.

Church of the Brethren

2 Work Camps, Turkey Creek and Flat Creek, Ky.
Dates: June 4 to July 18 (for both).
Fee: $5.00 per week (for full time of six weeks).
$6.00 per week (for three weeks or less).

Address: Neva Hollinger, Trotwood, Ohio.

College Summer Service Group

Sixteenth Season. Supplement to, not duplication of, college work. Opportunities for actual service and study in social agencies. Visits to cooperatives, housing projects, prisons, hospitals, and labor unions. Sponsored by National Intercollegiate Christian Council. Tuition and living expenses may cost as much as $200, but many scholarships are available that can bring this down to as low as $25. This work is in New York City.

Address: Laurence T. Hosie, Director, 242 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Emergency Service Committee, National Pilgrim Fellowship

Emergency Service Project, Dayton, Ohio, from June 20 to August 22. The cost of room and board will be $90 for the nine weeks, or $12 a week for enrollment for less than five weeks. Scholarships are available.

Work Camp, Ledyard, Conn., from June 11 to August 13. Prevailing wages will be paid campers for helping farmers with crops. Campers will pay $8.00 per week from their earnings for board and laundry. Parents will pay $60 per camper. Farmers and sponsoring groups will contribute the balance to make a total of approximately $125 per camper. Limited scholarships are available.

New York Work Camp, New York State, June 1 to August 15. This camp is sponsored by local groups to meet standards and conditions of official crop-harvest camps. Campers will earn $8.00 per week for their board and laundry. Parents will pay from $40 to $60 per camper. Limited scholarships are available.

Vermont Farm Labor Project, for high school students, during July and August. This project will be work on farms in a Vermont community and administration of service projects such as children's work. The work will be harvesting of crops and general farm work with farm families. Members of the project will live in farmers' homes, but will share in community activities together.

High School Boys' Work Camp, House-in-the-Fields, Conn. The first period extends from June 25 to July 8. The work, five hours per day, will be to build a recreation hall, fireplaces, etc. for a camp for children. The remainder of the time will be spent in regular camping activities. No cost except time and labor.

Address: Henry R. Rust, Room 805, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

FOR Interracial Summer Work Camp

Discussions on interracial understanding, rural community problems in the South, pacifism, post-war reconstruction, and kindred topics.

Project: To paint and repair three old camp buildings, dam up a creek to provide a swimming hole, beautify the camp grounds, conduct a vacation school for children in the neighborhood.

Place: Linton, Tenn. (eighteen miles west of Nashville).

Dates: July 12 to August 16.

Cost: Approximately $4.00 per week per person. Each camper to manage his own transportation.

Address: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

Harlem Ashram

Courses in *Race Relations in America Today; Scientific Attitude Toward Race; History, Religious and Moral Basis; Techniques of Non-violent Direct Action; Application to "The Unfinished Task of Emancipation."*

Dates: July 21 to August 31.

Cost: $7.00 per week per person.

Address: J. Holmes Smith, 2013 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Lisle Fellowship

Purpose: Understanding and practice of attitudes and methods needed in world-wide relationships through cooperative living, community service, and deepening religious discovery in a world framework.

Plan: Six weeks alternating periods of community work with days of evaluation and resource.

Personnel: Varied in nationality, race, faith, vocation.

Finance: No maximum, no minimum—write for details.

Dates: Lisle, N. Y., June 2 to July 14; *Pacific Palisades, Cal.,* June 14 to July 28; *Lookout Mountain, Colo.,* July 16 to August 27.

Address: DeWitt C. Baldwin, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

School of Living

Summer Work Camp, centering its attention on the practices of homesteading and the principles of decentralization; time to be divided equally between work and discussion.

Dates: July 5 to August 15.

Place: Larger-than usual homestead in cooperative neighborhood at Suffern, N. Y.

Cost: $10.00 per week per person.

Address: Camp Manager, School of Living, Suffern, N. Y.

United Christian Youth Movement

Christian Youth Council of North America Conference, Jackson's Mill, W. Va., from June 28 to July 3. Cost will be $18.50 per person.

Regional Planning Conferences at Lake Junaluska, N. C., from July 17 to July 20, with cost of under $5.00 per person; *Geneva Glen, Colo.,* from August 8 to August 15; *Winnipesaukee, N. H.,* from August 16 to August 28, with cost of $27 per person for two weeks, or $14 for one week; *Lake Geneva, Wis.,* from August 23 to September 4, with cost of $27.50 per person for two weeks, or $15 for one week.

Address: United Christian Youth Movement, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.